

THE
HISTORY
OF
RESISTANCE,

As PRACTIS'D by the

Church of *England*:

IN WHICH

'Tis proved, from most *AUTHENTICK RECORDS*,
That in every *Reign* since the *Reformation of Religion*,
the said *CHURCH* hath Aided and Assisted, Justified
and Approved of, such *Subjects* as have Defended
themselves against the *Oppressions* of their Tyrannical,
tho' Natural *PRINCES*.

WRITTEN

Upon Occasion of Mr. *AGATE*'s *SERMON* at *Exeter*
on the 30th of *January*; and in *DEFENCE* of the
Late *Revolution*, the Present *Establishment*, and the
Protestant Succession.

By *JOHN WITHERS*.

*LUKE XI. 46. Ye lade Men with Burdens grievous to be
born, and ye your selves touch not the Burdens with one of
your Fingers.*

Quis tulerit Gracchum de Seditone querentem?

Entred according to Act of Parliament.

The Fourth Edition.

L O N D O N:

Printed for *J. Robinson*, in *St. Paul's Churchyard*: And Sold
by *A. Baldwin*, near the *Oxford-Arms* in *Warwick-Lane*. 1710.

Price Three-Pence.

Sach. 333/2



The History of Resistance, &c.

HISTORIANS tell us, *That when the Tongue-ty'd Son of Cræsus saw the fatal Sword just ready to be sheath'd in his Father's Bowels, his Surprise and Indignation raised such an Emotion in his Blood and Spirits, as tore asunder those little membranous Fetters, which held the grand Organ of Speech a Prisoner from his very Birth.* I doubt not but every True Englishman will readily confess Her present Majesty to be the Common Mother of Her People; when, therefore, such Doctrines are divulged from the Pulpit, as will blacken Her Conduct, and weaken Her Title, I need no other Apology to justify this present Essay, in Vindication of them both.

It might have been expected, that Mr. Agate's Splenetick Temper should have been fully eased by that Torrent of Gall, which he has poured forth on the Dissenters; and that the Members of his own Church might have obtained a fairer Quarter from him: But so flagrant is this Gentleman's Zeal, that it burns up every thing which stands in its way. Of this the City had a notable Instance on the Thirtieth of January last, when taking for his Text, *God's sending his Prophet to a Rebellious Nation*; and having a Fling at the HOUSE OF COMMONS, by remarking, *That God's Ministers must tell People of their Faults, tho' Fin'd and IMPEACH'D for their Labour*: He undertakes to prove this Proposition, *That Resistance to the Higher Powers, upon any Pretence whatsoever, is absolutely Unlawful.* But suppose (says he, in the midst of his Declamation) *the Prince should endeavour to overthrow the Constitution, and bring in Popery, may he not be Resisted in such a Case? Oh No! God forbid! For he that Resisteth, resisteth the Ordinance of God, and shall receive to himself Damnation.*

Now, 'tis known to all the World, that the late King JAMES did endeavour to bring in Popery; that in this Attempt he was resisted by the Prince of Orange, with whom concurred our QUEEN, our Nobles and Bishops, our Gentry and Clergy, who, if this Doctrine be true, are all involved in the Guilt of a Damnable Rebellion. Besides, if the Nation was guilty of a Damning Sin in resisting King JAMES, they are obliged to Repent of it, as they value the Salvation of their own Souls. Now, Repentance is the undoing what was done amiss: If I have wronged and cheated my Neighbour, 'tis a vain Thing for me to pretend Repentance, unless I make him Reparation as far as I am able. Mr. Agate's Friends, the Non-Jurors, will tell him of a Gentleman on the other side the Water, who was acknowledged in all the Churches in England to be King JAMES's Son, and that in the most solemn Acts of Worship, when Men can never be excused if they speak what they do not think. And that the Nation can never Repent of resisting King JAMES, but by making Satisfaction and Restitution to - - - Accordingly the Grand Patrons of Passive Obedience actually refuse to Recognize Her Majesty's Title, and reserve their

Allegiance for the Pretender. 'Tis to promote his *Interest*, no doubt, that these *High Fantastick Principles* have been so zealously inculcated by the *Rehearser* and his Party; and I wish that others may not espouse them for the same Reason.

But let us hear a little more of Mr. *Agate's* Oratory: *If any* (says this *Declaimer* on the Thirtieth of January) *who have been Baptized into our Church, are for the Doctrine of Resistance, I PRONOUNCE them to be Enemies both to our Church and Constitution.* And so made it the main Drift of his *Discourse* to persuade his Hearers, That none but *Atheists* and *Deists*, *Papists* and *Dissenters*, ever thought it lawful to resist the Higher Powers upon any pretence whatsoever.

I have read, that before the Reformation, the Archbishop of *Canterbury* was called *alterius Orbis Papa*; the Pope of another World: But that the Curate of *St. Mary Arches* should set up for a *British* Pope; that he should assume to himself a Power of pronouncing who shall be esteemed a *true Churchman*, and who not, this, I confess, is new, and would surprize me, were not the Humour of the Man pretty well known, and that he is remarkable for nothing more than an uncommon measure of Assurance.

The Design, therefore, of these *Historical Collections*, is to convince this Part of the World, that the Church of England in former Ages, did not espouse those Slavish Principles, which Mr. *Agate* pretends to be its standing Doctrine: And that no more is now said by *Whigs* or *Dissenters* on the Point of Resistance, than what has been formerly practised by *Bishops* and *Convocations*. To make this Matter clear, I would premise Two or Three Things, which no Reasonable Man can deny me.

First, *Mens Actions* are the best Expounders of their Intentions, and their Principles may be best discovered by their Practices.

Secondly, If all Resistance of Subjects to their Princes be Rebellion, then all such as aid and abet such Rebels involve themselves in the same Guilt. Our *Lawyers* will tell us, 'That in Treason there are no Accessaries, but all are Principals'. We may partake in other Mens Sins, by administering Counsel, Direction or Assistance towards them; as the Famous Dr. *Sacheverell* has very truly determined †. When therefore, our Church gave Aid to such as defended themselves against the Oppression of their own Princes this is the same thing as if they had themselves resisted. These things premised, I come to prove the Point proposed by me in these Sheets.

As the Reformation of Religion in the Church of England may be dated from the short Reign of King EDWARD the Sixth, so that the Protestants of that Age did not look upon Resistance upon any Pretence whatsoever as absolutely unlawful, may be demonstrated from the Conduct and Demeanour of these very Persons under his immediate Successor Queen MARY. 'Tis known to every one who has the least Acquaintance with our English Histories, how that Young Prince was prevailed upon by the Artifices of the Duke of Northumberland, when in a Languishing Condition, to nominate the Lady Jane Grey for his

* *Hale's Plea of the Crown*, p. 215.

† *Sermon at Derby*, p. 10.
Suc-

Successor to the Crown ; a Young Lady of most incomparable Parts and Virtues, and a zealous Lover of the Reformation ; but who, tho' she had Royal Blood in her Veins, had yet no Title to the Crown, either by Virtue of Heirship, or any Parliamentary Settlement. That which principally influenced K. Edward to this Act, was the known Bigotry of his Sister Mary, and her passionate Devotion to the See of Rome ; which made him fear that she would destroy what he had done, as accordingly it came to pass. Upon the Death of this Excellent Prince, the Lady Jane was proclaimed in London ; but the Generality of the Nation adhered to the Princess Mary, on whom the Succession was entail'd by the Estates of the Realm in Parliament assembled. Whilst the two Rival Queens were contending for a Diadem, Dr. Ridley, at that time Bishop of London, renowned for his Piety and Learning, and above all things for his Constancy in Martyrdom, and the Generous Testimony which he bore to his Redeemer's Cause ; this great Man preached a Sermon at St. Paul's Cross, to advance the Title of Queen Jane. Amongst other things, ' He presented the Inconveniencies which might arise, by receiving Mary for their Queen ; prophesying that which after came to pass, namely, ' that she would bring in a Foreign Power to reign over this Nation ; ' and that she would subvert the True Religion, then established by ' the Laws of this Realm *. So that this great Prelate was so far from believing all Resistance to be a Damnable Sin, that he publicly exhorted the People to defend their Religion and Liberties against the Right Heir to the Crown. Nor can it be pretended that he was a Puritanical Bishop, his Contest with Bishop Hooper, in Defence of the Habits and Ceremonies of the Church will evince the contrary.

Q. Mary had not long been in the peaceable Possession of her Kingdom, before the Promises made to those who drew their Swords in her Quarrel were quite forgotten, and she display'd the perfidious Cruelty, not so much of her Nature as her Religion : The Protestant Bishops were displaced ; the Supremacy of the Pope recognized ; and that Structure which her Brother had been so many Years in raising, was in a little time razed to the very Ground. In one Word, the Goals were quickly crowded, and the Roman Vultures, those Birds of Prey, were whetting their greedy Beaks and Talons, and preparing their Stomachs for a bloody Banquet. This, together with the Queen's throwing her self into the Arms of the King of Spain, created a general Dissatisfaction throughout the Kingdom ; insomuch, that Conspiracies were formed, and Insurrections intended, in divers Parts ; all which came to little, except that headed by Sir Thomas Wyatt, a Kentish Gentleman, of great Estate and Interest, who marched up to London with an Army of some Thousands at his Heels : And if the Issue proved abortive, 'twas because his Treason fell in Labour ' some Weeks before the full Time thereof ; as Dr. Fuller expresses it †. Dr. Heylin, who was one of Laud's Chaplains, and a most bitter Enemy to the Presbyterians, assures us, ' That it cannot be denied

* Heylin's History of the Reformation, &c. Edit. 2. pt. 1. page 162.

† Church Hist. l. 8. p. 11.

‘ but that the Restitution of the Reformed Religion, was the Matter
 ‘ principally aimed at in the Rebellion of these Men, though no-
 ‘ thing but the Match with *Spain* appeared on the out-side of it ‘;
 ‘ and that Dr. *John Poinet*, Bishop of *Winchester* in *K. Edward’s* Days,
 ‘ was not only of Council in the Plot, but put himself into their
 ‘ Camp *. So that here was one Bishop preaching against the *Queen’s*
 Title; another actually joining with such as were in Arms against
 her; and surely *absolute Non-Resistance* could not be an Article of their
 Faith. Nay, the *Protestants* of the Church of *England*, at that time,
 were so far from thinking it their Duty to stand still, whilst their
 Throats were cutting, that if this *High-Church* Historian deserves
 any Credit, they were generally disposed, throughout the Nation, to
 defend their Religion and Liberties with their Swords; for, speaking
 of *Wiat’s* Insurrection, he tells us, That all they that wished well to
 ‘ the Reformation, were hooked in [to approve his Design,] upon
 ‘ the like Hopes of restoring that Religion which had been settled
 ‘ by the Care and Piety of the good King *Edward*, but now suppres-
 ‘ sed, contrary to all Faith and Promise, by the Queen and her Mi-
 ‘ nisters. The Doctor adds, That the Contagion was so generally dif-
 ‘ fus’d over all the Kingdom, that if it had not accidentally broke
 ‘ out before the time appointed by them, it was conceived, by ma-
 ‘ ny Wise and Knowing Men, that the Disease might have been in-
 ‘ curable ‘. If this be a true Relation, we may conclude that our
 First Reformers had not imbibed those slavish Principles which Mr. *A-
 gate* pretends to be the standing Doctrine of his Church.

To Queen *Mary* succeeded Queen *Elizabeth*, to whose Auspicious
 Influence and Wise Conduct the Church of *England* owes its present
 Establishment. During her Glorious Administration, both Bishops and
 Nobles, Clergy and Laity, concurred in lending their Helping Hand
 both to the French, Scots, and Dutch, when defending themselves against
 the Violence and Oppression of their own Princes. A Demonstration,
 that the Doctrine of the Bowstring was not at that time the Doctrine of
 the Church of *England*. To give some Instances.

In the Year 1559, such of the *Scottish* Gentlemen as had embraced the
 Reformation, and who were called the Lords of the Congregation, think-
 ing they had just Reason to defend themselves against the Oppression of
 the Queen Regent, and her Popish Faction, took up Arms, and craved
 Aid of Queen *Elizabeth*. Mr. *Cambden* tells us, That this Matter was
 seriously consulted of in *England*, and the Result of all was, that to fail the
 Professors of the same Religion, seemed a Point of IMPIETY †. Hence I
 infer, that the Scots at that time professed the same Religion with the
 English; and that the Resistance which the former made, was not look’d
 upon by the latter as a Damnable Rebellion; for then it had been
 Impiety, not to desert, but to assist them: Whereas a stout Band of
 Soldiers, with a Train of Artillery, was sent into *Scotland* to their
 Aid.

In the Year 1562, the Protestants in *France*, being made desperate

‘ Heylin’s Hist of Reform pt. 2 p. 34. * Ibid. p. 33. ‘ Ibid.
 p. 33. † Cambden’s Hist. of Eliz. Edit 4th, p. 36.

by the many *Butcheries* and *Massacres* that they were exercised with in divers Parts of the Kingdom, thought it Lawful for them to stand upon their Guard, and repel Force by Force. This they did, being headed by the *Prince of Conde*, and the *Admiral de Coligny*: In these Circumstances they address themselves to *Queen Elizabeth*, who sent over the Earl of *Warwick*, with a well-appointed Army, to their Assistance †; and, at the same time, 'Earnestly solicited' the *Protestants* of *Germany* to relieve *Conde*, and defend the Common Cause of Religion. ∴ In the latter End of this Year, the *Estates* of the Realm were assembled in *Parliament* and *Convocation*, 'Who granted the *Queen*, the ECCLESIASTICAL Men one Subsidy, and the Laity another, with Two Fifteenths and Tenths; and this Grant was declared to be made, amongst other Reasons, for the LAUDABLE ENTERPRIZE in *France* *. That the Reader may have a clearer Notion of this Matter, he must consider, That tho' at present our *Clergy* are taxed by *Parliament*, and pay for their Benefices as *Gentlemen* do for their Estates, yet, before the Restoration of *K. Charles* the Second, they were taxed by their Representatives in *Convocation*. In the Instance now before us, the *Bishops* and *Dignitaries* of the Church were so far from looking upon that Resistance which the *French Protestants* made to their Perfidious *Queen Regent*, (the *King* her Son being then a Minor) to be a Damnable Rebellion, that they called the Design of Aiding and Abetting of them a *Laudable Enterprize*, and contributed largely thereunto. And now, let *Mr. Agate* tell us what he will pronounce of these Men, who were the *Fathers* and *Founders* of his own Church.

Upon the breaking out of the Second Religious War in *France*, in 1569, 'The *Queen of England* failed not to relieve the *Protestants* in that Kingdom, and exhorted the *Princes* of the same Profession to take upon them the Defence of the Common Cause. † The *Sieur d'Aubigne*, a *French* Historian, tells us, That she remitted over an Hundred Thousand *Angelots*; by which, I suppose, he means *English* Angels; for I can't learn that there is any *French* Coin so called, (a very considerable Sum in those Days) with a Train of *Artillery*. ∴ And no doubt but she was encouraged hereunto by the Determination of her own *Bishops* and *Clergy*.

The Story of the Unfortunate *Scotish Queen* is known to most, who being driven out of her own Kingdom, took Sanctuary in *England*, where she was kept a Prisoner many Years, and at last lost her Head on a Scaffold. During her Captivity, the Duke of *Norfolk* had formed a Design to marry her, and so raise Disturbances in the Nation. This allarm'd the *Parliament*, who made very severe Votes and Petitions against her; in one of which they thus address themselves to *Queen Elizabeth*: We your Majesty's most humble and faithful Subjects assembled in *Parliament* — A Queen of late Time, and yet through her own Acts now JUSTLY no Queen, a nigh Kinswoman of your Majesty's, and yet a very unnatural Sister, Lady Mary Steward,

† Ibid. p. 62.

p. 64.

∴ Ibid. 64.

† Ibid. p. 137.

* Cambden's Hist. of Q. Eliz.

∴ Histoire Universelle, l. 5. c. 10.

late

late Queen of Scots, &c. * I find by the Queen's Answer, reported to the House by Mr. Treasurer, That the Lords joined with the Commons in this Petition; † which I desire the Reader to remark for the Bishops sakes. Should any Person affirm, That King Charles was justly put to Death, Mr. Agate would represent him as much a Regicide as Cromwel or Bradshaw; and no doubt but he would be a Sharer in their Guilt. 'We may be Partakers of another Man's Sin in commending, approving, excusing, or defending it afterward, as the High-Church Hero Dr. Sacheverell has very orthodoxly determined.' In the Instance just now cited, we have the Bishops, the Nobles, and Gentry of the Church of England, with all Solemnity declaring, That the late Queen of Scots was then justly no Queen; that is, in other Words, she was justly deprived of her Regal Dignity. And by this Declaration they did justify that Resistance which her Subjects made unto her: This they could not have done, had they then look'd upon all such Resistance as an Enormous Crime.

A little after this, the Natives of Flanders and Holland, being harass'd by the Terrors of the Inquisition, and the Barbarity of the Duke of Aua their Governor, thought it lawful for them to defend their Lives and Religion against those Instruments of Cruelty, that were made use of to Oppress them. Under these Perswasions, several Provinces and great Towns revolted from the King of Spain, their Natural Sovereign, under the Conduct of the Prince of Orange; and the better to secure themselves against the formidable Power of that haughty Monarch they offer'd to transfer their Allegiance to the Queen of England, and become her Vassals. But though Her Majesty did not think fit to accept of this Proposal, yet after serious Deliberation she resolv'd, 'That it was CHRISTIAN PIETY to Relieve the Afflicted Netherlanders, Embracers of the same Religion which she professed.' And accordingly, a well-appointed Army, both of Horse and Foot, was actually sent over to their Assistance: This was done about the latter End of the Year 1585. The next Year there was a Session of Parliament: I find in the printed Journal of the House of Lords, 'That the Commons made Humble Suit to their Lordships, to join with them in a Contribution or Benevolence for the Charges of the LOW-COUNTRIES WARS. † The Lords appointed a Committee of their own Body to consider this Motion; of which Number were the Two Archbishops of Canterbury and York, the Bishops of London, Winchester and Salop. Upon Conference amongst themselves, 'Twas resolv'd and agreed to by the whole House, 'That a Subsidy of Two Shillings in the Pound, should be granted by the Temporal Lords, in as much as the Lords Spiritual had made former Offers of Contribution to Her Majesty, [i. e. in Convocation] ∴ I must leave the Reader to judge, whether absolute Non-Resistance could be a Doctrine of the Church at this time, when the

* D'Ewe's Journal of Parliaments, &c. p. 215. † D'Ewe's Journals of Parliaments, &c. p. 219. ∴ Sermon at Derby Assize, p. 11.

* Cambden's Hist. of Q. Eliz. p. 321. † D'Ewe's Journals of Parliaments, &c. p. 386. ∴ D'Ewe's Journals of Parliaments, &c. p. 387.
Bishops

Bishops and Convocation of Clergy, laid a Tax on themselves and their Brethren, for the Charges of the Low-Countries Wars. That is, in other Terms, for the Aiding and Abetting those very Persons who were at that time actually Resisting their own Lawful, but Tyrannical Prince. I would crave Leave to make this One Remark more; That the Clergy were not at that time headed by *Sacheverell's Perfidious Prelate* Grindal; but the Metropolitanical Dignity was then possessed by Dr. *John Whitgift**, whose Zeal against the Puritans, and for the Discipline and Ceremonies of the Church, are notorious to all such as have the least Acquaintance with our English Records.

In the Year 1593, the Estates of England were again assembled in Parliament at Westminster; 'Who taking into their Consideration the Bent of the Enemies to work the Destruction of England, by suppressing its Confederates in France, Scotland, and the Low-Countries, and the great Expence Her Majesty had been at, not only in defending her own Kingdoms, but also in JUSTLY Relieving her Confederates according to Contract; they with most Thankful Hearts granted, the CLERGY Two Entire Subsidies, and the Laity Three, with Six Fifteenths and Tenths†. Here again, we have the Convocation and Parliament, the Representatives of the Clergy and Laity of the Church of England, declaring, in the most publick solemn Manner, That Qu. Elizabeth did JUSTLY in relieving her Confederates [the Dutchmen:] (For Mr. *Cambden* assures us, that these are the very Words of the Act of Parliament.) Whereas, had they looked upon that Resistance, which these Men made to their Natural King, to be a Damnable Rebellion, the Aiding and Assisting of them in such an Enterprize, would have been a most barbarous Injustice. And the Clergy would have been guilty of a most inexcusable Prevarication, in approving a known Injury; but if they had any thing of Sincerity in them, as I hope and believe they had, they must be Strangers to Mr. *Agate's* slavish Doctrine.

I have one Remark more to make on this Parliament; It was so far from being a Puritanical Assembly, that this is the very Parliament which made that severe Law, which inflicts Death or Banishment on those who absent themselves from the Service of the Church for a Months Time, and will not recant their Nonconformity. I hope the Authors of such an Act may pass for True Sons of the Church; and yet these very Gentlemen gave large Supplies, to enable the Dutch to resist their own Prince.

The Instances I have given, are a Demonstration that Mr. *Agate's* Notions were not the standing Doctrines of the Church during Q. Elizabeth's Glorious and Triumphant Reign.

To Q. Elizabeth succeeded King James I. in 1602, who delighted to be called a *Pacifick King*; and a little after his Access to the Throne, made Peace with the King of Spain: However, he still maintain'd a fair Correspondence with the Revolted Hollanders; and as they had put into the Hands of Queen Elizabeth the strong Fortresses of the Brill,

* Vid. *Cambden's Hist. of Q. Eliz.* p. 288.

† Ibid. p. 469.

∴ Ibid. p. 468.

Flushing, and *Ramechins*, as Cautionary Towns for the Money she had lent them; so King *James* kept them Garrisoned with *English* Soldiers till the Year 1616, when he delivered them up to the *States-General* *. Whereas, had he looked upon the *resisting Dutchmen*, as involved in the Guilt of a Damnable Rebellion, he ought in *Conscience* and *Honour* to have surrendred them to the King of *Spain*, their Rightful Owner.

I find it affirmed by an unexceptionable Historian, *That the chiefest Strength of the United Provinces consisted in English and Scottish Soldiers, who were in their Army* †: This was in the Year 1607. when K. *James* had been several Years possessed of the *English* Crown. An Argument that the *British* Subjects were permitted to List themselves in the *Dutch* Service, which I hope our Government would not have allowed of, had they looked upon this as the *Aiding* and *Abetting* a pack of *Rebels*, and the hardening them in a DAMNING SIN.

In the Year 1609, I find mention of 4000 *English*, commanded by Sir *Edward Cecil* at the Siege of *Juliers*, assisting the *Dutch* in the Recovery of that Town out of the *Spaniard's* Hands *; and in the Year 1624. four *English* Regiments of Foot, of 1500 Men each, were sent into *Holland*, to countenance the same *Resisters* †. One of the *Colonels* commanding these Regiments was the Lord *Willoughby*, since Earl of *Lindsey*, who was so far from being a *Puritan* or a *Roundhead*, that he was King *Charles* his General in our late Civil War, and lost his Life whilst fighting under the Royal Banner. .

About this time there were Commotions in *France*, and the Duke de *Soubise*, one of the Protestants Generals, being routed, made a shift to escape into *England*; and though he failed in his Attempt of persuading King *James* publickly to espouse their Quarrel, yet the *French* Historian assures us, *That he was so much favoured by the English in general, that they gave him such considerable Succours as enabled him to lade Ten or a Dozen Vessels with all sorts of Necessaries for the Relief of Rochel, at that time Besieged by the King's Forces* *. It can hardly be conceived, that this Preparation should be made without the Connivance of our Court. I must leave the Reader to judge, whether the Instances produced are not a Demonstration, that Mr. *Agate's* slavish Doctrine was a Stranger in the Gates of *Englishmen*, during the Reign of K. *James*.

To him succeeded K *Charles I.* in the Year 1625. who being disgusted with the *Spaniard*, resolved upon a War with that Crown; but having dissolved his Parliament abruptly, (who were willing to supply him in a Legal Way) because they clashed with his mighty Favourite the Duke of *Buckingham*, his ill-advised Council persuaded him to raise Money by way of *Loan*; that is, particular Men had Privy-Seals sent to them, requiring them to lend the King such Sums of Money as his Commissioners thought them capable of sparing. This

* Heylin's *Cosmography*, Edit. 2d p 385. † Bentivoglio's *History of the Wars of Flanders*, p. 373. † Ibid p. 369. * *History of England*, Vol. 2. p. 683. † Ibid p. 787. * Ibid. p. 790.
* *Histoire de l'Edit. de Nantes*, Tome 2. liv. 8.

had a harsh Sound in the Ears of *Free-born Englishmen*; and therefore, that they might be charmed into a Compliance, his Majesty was advised to *tune the Pulpits*, as Dr. Heylen calls it; and accordingly *Instructions* were order'd to be drawn up, in order to be communicated to all the *Bishops* and *Clergy* in *England*, according to which they were to govern themselves in recommending this *Loan* unto their People. The Person appointed to prepare these *Instructions* was Bishop *Laud*; and I hope Mr. *Agate* will pronounce him a true *Churchman*. This Task he perform'd to the Satisfaction of the Court: Amongst other Arguments to excite the *Generosity* of the *Subjects*, the Necessity of putting a Check to the growing Greatness of the *House of Austria*, and *King of Spain*, who had over-run almost all *Germany*, was principally insisted on: Nor can it be thought (says these Instructions) the *Low-Countries* can HOLD OUT LONG AGAINST Him, if he once become Lord of the *Upper Parts* *. The Inhabitants of the *Low-Countries* had at this time been struggling hard against the *Spanish Power* for more than 40 Years, with little Intermision. And our *Bishops* and *Clergy* were so far from thinking them guilty of a *Damning Sin*, that they exhorted the People to a *Liberal Contribution*, to enable them to hold out long, or, in other Terms, to persevere in that *Resistance* which they were then making to their *Hereditary Monarch*. It is further worthy our Observation, that *Sybothorp*, *Manwaring*, and the *Laudean Faction*, were most Zealous to promote this *Loan*, whilst the *Puritans* and *Low Churchmen* were more on the Reserve, as disliking the *Arbitrary Methods* made use of, in raising Money without Consent of *Parliament*.

A little after this, a War broke out betwixt *England* and *France*; at the same time the *Reformed* in that Kingdom having received *Encouragement* from hence, and seeing the most solemn Treaties violated by their *perfidious Enemies*, endeavour'd to re-establish their Affairs by Force of Arms. Upon this, the *King of France* laid Siege to *Rochel*, a populous and wealthy City, and so prodigiously strong, that the Enemy could not reduce it but by Starving it into a Surrender. During this Siege, the *English* made great Preparations to relieve the Town, and several Fleets were sent out to that purpose, though all without effect. The *Bishop of Sarum* tells us, That in the Year 1628, during the Siege of *Rochel*, there was a publick Fast appointed upon that Account over *England*; and the Besieged were prayed for as our Brethren, and SUCCESS to them was by that Form prayed for: I have (says his Lordship) the Form of Prayer †. We are told by a *French Historian*, that whilst the *English Fleet* lay before the Town, the *French King* did, in his own Person, every Day visit those prodigious Works which were built a good way out in the Sea, to hinder any Succours from being thrown into it. The *Rockellers* at that time did certainly resist their King, if shooting of *Musquets* and firing of *Cannon* against him and his

* Heylin's *Life of Archbishop Laud*, p. 163. † The *Bishop of Sarum's Vindication*, &c. p. 70. Sa Majeste n'en passa pas un jour, qu'elle ne Visitast la Digue, & tous les Travaux, &c. Jean de Serres *Inventaire general de l'Histoire de France*, p. 1063.

Army may deserve that Term ; and yet all the *Bishops* and *Clergy* of *England* did beg of *GOD* to give them *Success* in this very Enterprize. Certainly if our *Words* and *Thoughts*, should at any time harmonize, 'tis when we lye prostrate before the Supreme Majesty, that *God* who sees the secret Springs and Principles, by which we are moved, and whose Eyes can penetrate the dark Recesses of Human Souls. Did our *Clergy* look upon these *Resisters* engaged in a *Damning Sin*, when they prayed *GOD* to SUCCEED them in it ? This would be such a cursed *Hypocrisy*, such a *Prophane Mocking* with the *Almighty*, that we cannot in *Charity* or *Justice* accuse them of it.

To King *Charles* the First succeeded his Son of the same Name ; during whose Reign, the Doctrines of *Passive Obedience*, and *Non-Resistance* were recommended in some Pulpits as so many Articles of Faith.

However, tho' the *Courtiers* encouraged the Preaching up this Doctrine for *Reasons of State* ; yet, I think, it may be demonstrated, that those who sat at the Helm did not themselves believe one Word of it ; and that, by their own Conduct, in Relation to other Kingdoms. Some Years before the *Restoration*, the *Portuguese* revolted from the King of *Spain*, to whom they had sworn Allegiance, and to whose Ancestors they had been subject for 60 Years successively ; having shaken off the *Spanish* Yoak, they advanced *John Duke of Braganza* to the Throne, and invested him with the Royal Purple.

In the Year 1662. King *Charles II.* married the Princess *Katherine*, Daughter of King *John* lately deceased, and sent over a stout Band of *English* Soldiers to the Assistance of his New Relations, * by whose Valour and Resolution the *Spanish* Armies were entirely defeated, and the *House of Braganza* establish'd in the Throne.

If it be said, *That in this Instance, the English did only assist the Right Heir against an Usurper, I have these Two Things to offer :*

1. In the Year 1580. *Henry* King of *Portugal* having no Issue, and foreseeing that after his Decease there would be several Competitors for the Crown, (of whom *Philip II.* King of *Spain*, his Sister's Son, was one) with the Consent of his *Cortes*, or Parliament, appointed a Committee of *Lawyers* and *Statesmen*, to Govern the Kingdom upon his Death, and Declare the Right of Succession. All Persons were sworn to stand to the Determination of these Judges, and the Duke of *Braganza* amongst the rest. † A little after this, King *Henry* died, and some time before his Death, declared himself publicly for King *Philip*. After his Decease, the Governors gave their Definitive Sentence in Favour of the said King ; And the *Dutchess* of *Braganza*, (from whom the present Kings of *Portugal* do claim) surrender'd also all her Interest and Pretensions to him. † And all this was followed by a Peaceable Possession of the Kingdom for Sixty Years successively by the said *Philip*, his Son and Grandson, Kings of *Spain*.

* *History of Portugal*, p. 503, 509, &c.

352. ∴ *Ibid.* p. 353.

* *Ibid.* p. 357.

† *Hist. of Portugal*, p.

graphy, Edit. 2. p. 279.

† *Heylin's Cosmo-*

I must leave it to the *Civilians*, and *Dealers in Politicks*, whether all this will not give a Valid Title.

2. But supposing the *King of Spain* to be never so much an Usurper, yet the Family of *Braganza* (for whom our *English* fought) were not the next Heirs to the Crown, nor could they claim it by Virtue of the Right Line of Succession. The Duke of *Braganza* was descended from *Katherine*, Second Daughter to Prince *Edward*, Fourth Son to *Emanuel* King of *Portugal*. On the other Hand, the Dukes of *Parma* are descended from *Mary*, Eldest Daughter to the said *Edward*. ∴ And every Person knows, that the Posterity of the Elder Daughter ought to Inherit before that of the Younger; so that King *Charles*, and his Church-of-England Council (for I hope Mr. *Agate* will allow that Character to the Earl of *Clarendon*, at that time Prime Minister) did aid and assist the *Portuguese*, in Setting up and Maintaining a King of their own Chusing, who was not the next Heir to the Crown in the Right Line of Succession. This is Matter of Fact, and undeniable.

In 1656, died *John* King of *Portugal**, leaving behind him Two Sons, *Alphonso* and *Peter*, both Minors, under the Tuition of their Mother the *Queen Regent*. In 1663, King *Alphonso*, the Elder, took the Reins of Government into his own Hands; but being of an extravagant Humour, and guilty of some unaccountable odd Actions, which I believe were aggravated by his Enemies, to make him Odious, He was Deposed by the *Assembly of Estates* in 1668, and condemned to a *Perpetual Imprisonment*, whilst his Younger Brother *Peter* was made Regent of the Kingdom, and at last King†.

In this mighty Revolution, (which was far from being so Just or Necessary as that in *Great Britain* some 20 Years ago,) the *King of England* was one of the first who acknowledged the *New Regent*; and by the Interposition of his Ambassadors, the Earl of *Sandwich* and Sir *Robert Southwell*, a Peace was presently concluded between the Crowns of *Spain* and *Portugal*; 'His Britannick Majesty being declared the Mediator and Guarantee of it‡. So that if the *Spaniard* should have attempted to restore King *Alphonso* to his former Dignity the *English*, by Virtue of this *Guarantee*, stood obliged to assist the Prince Regent against his Deposed Sovereign and Elder Brother. This is a Demonstration, that the Prime Managers in King *Charles* his Reign, who encouraged the Preaching up the *Absolute Unlawfulness of Resistance upon any Pretence whatsoever*, did never intend to govern themselves by such a Rigid Maxim. This is further evident, by their Demeanor towards his Brother and Successor,

K. *James II.* whose Zeal for Popery, and Love of Arbitrary Power, tempted him to make Large Breaches in the Constitution of the Kingdom, both *Civil* and *Ecclesiastical*: Upon this the Prince of *Orange* was invited over; who came with a well-appointed Army, and being assisted by all sorts of People, the late Revolution did ensue. But how is this reconcilable with Mr. *Agate's* Notions? Our

∴ Ibid p. 280. * *Hist. of Portugal*, p. 563. † *Hist. of Portugal*, p. 563. ‡ Ibid. p. 564. *History of England*, Vol. 3. p. 270. Adver-

Adversaries (says this *Eccho* of *Sacheverell*, in his *Declamation* on *January* 30th) object to us the late *Revolution*; but the *Prince* himself has answer'd this, for he declared against *Resistance*. Certainly this Gentleman must have a very *Contemptible* Opinion of his own *Auditory*, when he supposes them so despicably *Credulous* to believe his *Idle Rant*, before their own *Eyes*. Are there not *Thousands* still living within the *Walls*, who saw those *Armed Legions* which passed through the *City*; who saw the *Church-yard* crowded with *Cannons* and *Mortars*, and the *River* cover'd with *Ships* full of *Warlike Stores* and *Ammunition*; And can any of these be so abandoned of *Common Reason*, as to imagine, that the *Prince* intended no *Opposition* to *King James's* Forces? Besides, had he declared against *Resistance*, as *Mr. Agate* most foolishly and falsely affirms, would any *Gentlemen* have joined him, to be sacrificed to the *Resentments* of a *Bigotted Prince*, and that without *Remedy*? Would any have *Lifted* under his *Banner*, to be cut in *Pieces* without *Resistance*? A *Man* must first shake *Hands* with *Humanity* it self, before such a senseless *Imagination* can find any *Harbour* in his *Bosom*.

'Tis true, the *Prince* declared, that he came not to *Conquer* and *Enslave* the *Nation*, as was suggested by his *Enemies*: Nor can it be imagined (says his *Highness*) that those who have *Invited* us, can join in a *wicked Attempt* of *Conquest*, to make void their own *Lawful Titles* to their *Honours, Estates* and *Interests*. ∴ The plain *Meaning* of which is only this; That his *Design* was not to make us *Vassals* to the *Dutch*, and divide the *Gentlemen's Estates* amongst his own *Troopers*, as *William* surnamed the *Conqueror* had done. But that he should declare against *Resisting* *King James* and his *Ministers*, who were at that time the *Highest Powers* in the *Nation*; this is a *groundless Fiction*, and I fear a *premeditated wilful Falshood*.

The *Truth* on't is, tho' the very *Word Resistance* be not found in his *Declaration*, yet there be other *Expressions* which do necessarily suppose and infer it. In his *First Declaration*, dated *Octob. 10.* having enumerated those *Grievances* in *Church* and *State* which he came over to redress, He invited and required all *Persons whatsoever* to come and *ASSIST* him, in order to the *Executing* his *Design*, *AGAINST* all such as should endeavour to *OPPOSE* him*. And 'tis impossible this should be done without *Resisting* such *Opposers*. In a *Second Declaration*, which disclaims a *Design* of *Conquest*, His *Highness* thus expresses himself: *After we had printed our Declaration, we have understood that the Subverters of the Religion and Laws of these Kingdoms, hearing of our Preparations to ASSIST the People AGAINST them, have begun to retract some of the Arbitrary Powers that they had assumed.—— The Sense of their Guilt, and a Distrust of their Force, having induced them to offer to the City of London some seeming Relief from their great Oppressions* †. Now, it was *King James*, who had sent for the *Lord Mayor* and *Aldermen* of *London*. when terrified with the *Noise* of an *Invasion*; and told them with his own *Mouth*, That he would restore their *Ancient*

* *Hist. of England, Vol. 3. p. 493.*

* *Ibid.*

† *Ibid.*

*Charters to them.** 'Twas he and his Council, who had retracted their *Arbitrary Powers* in relation to the *Bishop of London*, and *Magdalen-College*. These are the *Subverters* of whom the *Prince* speaks, and he declares to all the World, That he came to *assist the People of England against them*. But how could this be done *without resisting* those *Oppressors*? Should the *Queen's General in Spain* declare, that he was sent over by his Mistress to *assist the well-affected People against the Duke of Anjou and his Faction*, is not this the same thing as to declare for *Resistance* against the said *Duke*? The same may be said in relation to the *Prince of Orange*.

Add to all this, that *Mens Intentions* may be as fully declared by their *Actions* as by their *Words*: When His Highness brought over an Army of 14,000 Men, this was a more full and ample Declaration of his Design to awe King James into a Compliance, than any Words that he was capable of using. Besides, there was *Resistance* actually made by his *Troops* at *Wincanton* and *Reading*, where several Men were killed and wounded.† And when he came near *London*, the *Dutch Guards* marched through *St. James's Park* with lighted Match, and in a fighting Posture in order to relieve the Posts at *White-Hall*; † and would have cut King James his Guards in pieces, had they not dislodged, or lost their own Lives in the Attempt.

After all this, what can we think of this *Gentleman*, who in *Defiance* of this *Notoriety of Fact*, durst tell his Congregation, *That the Prince of Orange declared against Resistance*? Nothing can be more *Astonishing* than the *Confidence* of such a *Declaimer*, unless it be the incorrigible *Silliness* of those, who are resolved to believe his *Furious Rants* before their own Sense and Reason.

Upon this Occasion, it may not be amiss to consider what was said and done by our *Nobles and Gentry*, who Invited over the *Prince*, and who acted in Concert with him when he came. One of the chief of these was the *Earl* (afterwards *Duke*) of *Devonshire*, who with divers of the *Nobility and Gentry* Rendevouz'd at *Nottingham*, where they subscribed a *Declaration*, in which they thus expressed themselves: *We own it Rebellion to resist a King that governs by Law; but he was always accounted a Tyrant that made his Will his Law, and to RESIST such an One we justly esteem no Rebellion, but a necessary Defence, &c.** A few Days after this, the *Princess of Denmark*, (now our most Gracious *Queen*) the present *Bishop of London*, with others of the First Rank, retired to *Nottingham*, and actually joined those *Gentlemen*, who declared their Resolution to *resist* in the most express and formal manner † Fain would I ask our *profund Casuist*, Whether the *Princess* and *Bishop* were guilty of a *Damning Sin* in that *Affair*? For he must necessarily condemn his *Doctrine* or his *Sovereign*.

Whilst the *Prince* was in *Exeter*, he was joined by the *Gentlemen* of the *Eastern Counties*, *Sir Edward Seymour*, *Sir William Portman*, *Col.*

* *Hist. of England*, Vol. 3. p. 490.

† *Ibid.* p. 498, 499.

† *Ibid.* p. 503.

* *History of K. Will. 3d.* V. 1. p. 368.

† *Ibid.*

p. 369.

Lutterel, with many others of great Estate and Interest, who were never in their Lives suspected of *Whiggism*, much less of *Fanaticism*: These Gentlemen entred into an Association, in which they did engage to God, and one another, that if any Attempts were made-upon His Highness's Person, we will pursue (say they) not only those that made them, but all their Adherents, and all we find in Arms against us, with the utmost Severity of just REVENGE in their Ruin and Destruction. ∴ Certainly this is declaring for Resistance with a Vengeance.

About the same time the Lord *Lovelace*, coming with a Train of Gentlemen to join the Prince, was intercepted and taken Prisoner at *Cirencester*; but not before he had resisted unto Blood, there being Ten or Twelve Men killed in the Scuffle. ††

During these Transactions, the Citadel of *Plymouth* was secured for the Prince; the Earl of *Huntington*, and others, who had King *James's* Commission, being made Prisoners. The Earl of *Skrewsbury* and Sir *John Guise* forced the Duke of *Beauford* to surrender to them the City of *Bristol*. * The Earl of *Danby* (now Duke of *Leeds*) wrested *York* out of the Hands of the Duke of *New-Castle*. *Hull* was surprized by Col. *Copley*, and the Governor made a Prisoner. † And to conclude all, the Two Archbishops, *Sancroft* and *Lamplugh*, the Bishops of *Winchester*, *St. Asaph*, *Ely*, *Rochester*, and *Peterborough*, met at the Guildhall, *London*, with several Temporal Lords, where they declared for the Prince of *Orange*; telling the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen, That he had undertaken to rescue them from Popery and Slavery.* Which how it could be done without resisting such as would enslave them, is hard to be conceived. They also turned Col. *Shelton*, who had K. *James's* Commission to be Lieutenant of the Tower, out of his place, and put the Lord *Lucas* in his room †. If Mr. *Agate* will consult our Law-Books, or Lawyers, they will tell him, That the holding a Fort or Castle against the King, [much more then the wresting of them out of his Hands] is a Levying War against him. ∴ And sure the levying War against the King is resisting of him, if there be any such thing in Nature. And this is what Archbishop *Sancroft*, with many of his Brethren, were guilty of, and that before the Abdication. But will Mr. *Agate* therefore pronounce them to be no true Churchmen? This may serve for a Specimen of what was done and said by the Prince of *Orange*, and his Adherents.

If it be demanded, Whether our English Clergy were merely passive in that great Turn of Affairs? We are assured of the contrary by Dr. *Atterbury*, Dean of *Carlisle*, against whose Testimony Mr. *Agate* durst make no Exception. Speaking of the Lords of the Articles in *Scotland*, he tells us, This was thought a Badge of Slavery by the Scotch; and therefore towards the Beginning of this Revolution, when the Chains were knocked off every where from His Majesty's Subjects, this Committee was abolished. And had the English

∴ History of England, V. 3 p. 496.

V. 1. p. 358.

of England, V. 3. p. 500.

Plea of the Crown, p. 14.

†† History of K. Will. 3d.

† Ibid. p. 367.

† Ibid. p. 368.

† Ibid. p. 501.

∴ Vid. Hales

Clergy then lain under any undue Restraint, they too might have hoped for a Relief from it, as soon as any Men; since none had been more Instrumental than they in PROMOTING the *common Deliverance*.† But how did they promote it? Was it by Preaching up *Passive Obedience*, and *Non-Resistance*? By telling People, that 'twas not lawful, upon any Pretence whatsoever, to take up Arms against their Lawful King, or those that were Commissioned by him? And that they that did so should receive to themselves *Damnation*? Had this Doctrine been preached and believed then, instead of knocking off the Nations Chains, it would have rivetted them the faster on us; and King James, with one Troop of his dear Irish Joys, might have cut the Throats of all such as stood in the Gap to prevent a Deluge of Popery and Slavery from breaking in upon us.

That Learned Dean, who gives us this Account of the Clergies Conduct, wrote a Book in the last Reign, to prove, that, according to our present Constitution, the Convocation has a Right of meeting and sitting, as often as a New Parliament is summoned, as also of Deliberating about Ecclesiastical Affairs, without License under the Great Seal. He urges, amongst other Things, 'That the Convocation, sitting with the Parliament, might be useful to the State, as well as to the Church; that so they [the Lower House of Convocation] may be in Heart, and always at Hand, to stand up with them, [the House of Commons,] in behalf of Liberty, when it shall be attacked, and to RESIST a growing Tyranny either in Church or State, as it may happen. For Arbitrary Government is a spreading and contagious thing.* I don't think there is any Doctor in England subtil enough to let us know, how we may resist Tyranny, without resisting the Tyrant: Which is all that Mr. Hoadly, or any of his Principles contend for. From the general Approbation that this Book hath met with amongst the Clergy, I may reasonably infer, that seeing one great Use of a Convocation is to resist Tyrants, that therefore the Clergy cannot look upon all Resistance to be unlawful, for sure they cannot be fond of a Liberty to damn their own Souls, nor yet be angry when they are denied it.

If we cross over into Ireland, to see how Affairs were managed there; 'tis known to all the World how Londonderry defended it self against King James in Person, the Garrison being commanded by Mr. Walker, a Clergyman. In the Year 1690. King William, Pr. George, abundance of the Nobility and Gentry, with a gallant Army, were waisted over into that Kingdom, where, on July 1st. they fought that memorable Battle at the Boyne, when King James, who commanded the Irish Army in his own Person, was entirely defeated, and so driven out of all his Dominions.† I hope Mr. Agate will allow this to be a resisting of him. I have now by me the Form of Prayer that was used March 12. 1689. being a publick Fast-day, appointed, To implore

† The Rights, &c. of an Eng. Convocation, &c. Edit. 2. p. 392.

* Rights of Convocation, Ed. 2d, p. 137. Note, thro' the Printer's Error, there be in this Book two pages marked 137. at a little Distance, my Quotation is in the first.

† History of England, Vol. 3. p. 558, &c.

God's Blessing in the Preservation of His Majesty's sacred Person, and the Prosperity of His Arms in Ireland. There is one Collect bearing this Title, *A Prayer for the King, to be constantly used during His Majesty's Expedition*: In which are these Expressions, 'Almighty and most Gracious GOD, who hast been pleased to raise up thy Servant King William ----- Vouchsafe thy Gracious Presence with him throughout his Expedition; cover his Head in the Day of Battel; bless him with VICTORY and all good SUCCESS; bring him back in safety, to our Comfort, &c. So that whilst our English Soldiers were shooting their Musquets, and firing their Cannon against King James and his Army, all the Clergy in England, except the Nonjurors, were at the same time begging God to give them Victory and Success in that very Enterprize. If they believed this Resistance lawful, then Mr. Agate's slavish Principles were not the Doctrine of the Church at that time: If they thought it Unlawful, how could they pray to God for its Success? This would be such a scandalous Hypocrisy, that I cannot be so Uncharitable as to accuse them of it.

Nay, to this very Day, God is praised in the Church of England, for the successful Expedition of the Prince of Orange. Since the Year 1692. some Additions have been made to the Forms of Prayer used on the Fifth of November; and in the Communion Service of that Day there is this Petition: *We bless thee for giving his late Majesty [King William] a safe Arrival here, and for making all OPPOSITION fall before him, till he became our King and Governor.* I hope it will not be pretended, that there was Opposition without Resistance; or that there could be Opposition on one part, without any on the other. Mr. Agate has told the World in Print, that Resistance upon any pretence whatsoever, is an accursed Principle†. And yet this very same Gentleman can publicly bless God, for sending over the Prince of Orange to resist King James, and make all Opposition fall before him. See! see here the Conscience, Honour and Sincerity of a High-Flyer! And what little Reason he has to object Occasional Conformity to other People! See here the Blessed Harmony betwixt the Principles and Prayers of that Faction, which has filled the Nation with Uproars and Tumults!

There is one Whimsy more, which Mr. Agate made use of on January 30. as well as at other times, to persuade his credulous Disciples, that the True Sons of the Church did not resist King James, and that is, *That he voluntarily Abdicated the Throne*. As if he, good Man! were so tired with the Weight of a Crown, that he was very willing to throw that Burden upon his Son-in-Law: For this is the Sense this Gentleman would put upon the Word Abdicat[i]on. But can any Man in his Wits believe, that that Unfortunate Prince was really willing to Relinquish Three Flourishing Kingdoms, with a standing Revenue of Two Millions a Year, to be a Pensioner to the French King, and depend upon a Stranger's Courtesy for his Subsistence? On the other Hand, did he not write Letters to the Privy-Council, to both Houses of Parliament in England and Scotland; in all which he manifested his great Desire to Return, and laid Claim to the Allegiance of his quondam Subjects. * But I can hardly think any Man so

† Hist. of K. Will. V. 1. Appen. p. 17. * More plain Truth, p. 6. void

void of Reason as to imagine, that King *James* left his Dominions with a full Consent of Will.

I confess, that it was voted by the *Convention*, That he had *Abdicated the Government* : But as the Word *Abdicate* was seldom made use of before that time, and it being first introduced by the *Lower House*, 'tis all the Reason in the World we should have recourse to them, to understand the *Meaning* of it, and in what *Sense* they took it.

The *Lords* and *Commons* had several Conferences about this very Word ; the Managers for the latter were Mr. *Somers*, at this Day *Lord President* of Her Majesty's most Honourable Privy-Council, and *Serjeant Holt*, late Lord Chief Justice of the *Queen's Bench* : Both Men of Renown and Eminence, upon the account of their great Abilities. But let us hear the Interpretation which they have given ; ' The Word *Abdicate* (says the first of these great Men) signifies entirely to renounce, throw off, disown, relinquish any thing, whether it be done by Words, or in Writing, or by doing such Acts as are inconsistent with the holding or retaining of the thing ; which the *Commons* take to be the present Case *. Concluding his Learned Oration in these Words : ' By avowing to Govern by a *Despotick Power*, unknown to the Constitution, and inconsistent with it, he (*King James*) hath renounced to be a King according to the Law, such a King as he swore to be at the Coronation, such a King to whom the Allegiance of an *English* Subject is due ; and hath set up another kind of Dominion, which is to all Intents an *Abdication*, or Abandoning of his Royal Title, as fully as if it had been done by Express Words †.

To the same purpose the late Lord Chief Justice delivered himself in that Famous Conference : If your Lordships (says he) mean a voluntary express Act, or formal Deed of Renunciation, I confess I know of none in this Case. Your Lordships may please to observe, the Government and Magistracy is under a Trust, and any acting contrary to that Trust is a renouncing of the Trust, though it be not a renouncing by formal Deed ; for it is a plain Declaration by Act and Deed, though not in Writing, that he, who hath the Trust, acting contrary, is a Disclaimer of the Trust. This is so plain (says he) that I need no more but repeat it, and leave it with your Lordships, that the doing an Act inconsistent with the Being and End of a Thing, or that shall not answer the End of that thing, but quite the contrary, that shall be construed an *Abdication* and formal Renunciation of that Thing :.

This was the Interpretation given by the *Commons*, and in this the *Lords* acquiesced. And by this it is evident, that by King *James's Abdication*, the *Parliament* did not mean a voluntary Relinquishing, or willing Resignation of his Crown, but his taking those Courses which were destructive of the very Ends of Government, and inconsistent with the Trust reposed in him as Supreme Magistrate. And had they intended any thing further by that Vote, they had made themselves Ridiculous in the Eyes of all Mankind. And so much for King *William*.

* *Hist. of Engl. Vol. 3. p. 511.* † *Ibid. 512.* ∴ *Hist. of Eng. Vol. 3. p. 512.*

To him succeeded her present Majesty, and that upon the Revolution-Bottom; who is so far from desiring to make her Subjects Slaves, that it has been the great Design of Her Triumphant Reign to knock off those Chains, which the mighty Nimrod on t'other side the Water hath been endeavouring to rivet upon his own Subjects, as well as on his Neighbours. There was scarce any thing made a greater Noise in the World, a few Years ago, than the Insurrection of the Protestants in the Cevennes, a Mountainous Country in the South Part of France: Who being harra's'd and worn out by the intolerable Vexations of the Popish Clergy, and their Adherents, took Arms, and stood upon their Guard against their inhumane bloody Persecutors. And being befriended by those difficult and narrow Passes, which gave access to their craggy Habitations, they defended themselves against the French King's Troops with unparallel'd Bravery, and for some time with astonishing Success. If we consult the *Annals of Queen Anne*, we shall find, that during these Commotions, it was resolved by Her Majesty and Council, That since all Ways to relieve the Cevenois were shut up by Land, the Fleet that was to go into the Mediterranean, under the Command of Admiral Shovel, should endeavour to carry them a Supply of Arms, Ammunition and Money*. Accordingly several French Refugees were sent into France, to acquaint these poor distressed People with the Queen's good Intentions. But being for the most part intercepted, they could not deliver their Message. Only Mr. David Flotard had the good Fortune to return safe, after he had staid Six whole Days among the Cevenois, 'And acquainted them with the Signals that the English Fleet would make, and how they should answer them by other Signals†. These Measures being concerted, there were 3 French Gentlemen sent on Board the English Fleet, to be Witnesses of the Queen's good Intentions to relieve their Brethren. In order hereunto, the Admiral detached Two Men of War from the main Body, the *Pembroke* and the *Tartar*, with a good Quantity of Arms, Ammunition and Money; who entred the Gulph of *Narbonne*, and approaching as near to the Shore as they were able, 'They there made the Signals, as they were directed from Court, under the LORD NOTINGHAM'S OWN HAND.∴ But the Signals were not answered by the Camisars, for the French Court, having Intelligence of their Design, had taken effectual Measures to prevent it.

I hope Mr. Agate will allow the Noble Peer just now mentioned to be a true Son of the Church; I am therefore very willing to be informed by him, Whether that Lord, with the rest of Her Majesty's Council, were guilty of a Damning Sin, when they did all that possibly they could to abet, support and aid those very Persons, who were then defending themselves against their Persecuting Monarch, and his Bloody Agents?

In the Year 1706. A Resolution was taken by the Queen of Great-Britain and the States-General, to distress the common Enemy, and attempt the reducing his Exorbitant Power, by making a Descent on the French Coasts: To this end a fine Body of Troops, with a vast

* *Annals of Q. Anne*, V. 2. p. 11. † *Ib.* p. 102. ∴ *Ib.* p. 104.

quantity

quantity of Arms and Ammunition were embarked, under the Command of the Earl of Rivers. But the Fleet lying Wind-bound for Two Months in Torbay, and the Winter Season advancing, that Expedition was laid aside, and the Forces otherwise employed. However, we have upon Record the *Manifesto* intended to be publish'd by the Earl of Rivers upon his Landing on the French Coasts; in which are these following Expressions—— *We therefore make known by the Presents, That the High Allies have no manner of Purpose to make Conquests or Commit Devastations; but on the contrary, that they design to employ their Forces, only for the Protection of such of the French Nation, as shall take up Arms, in Order to restore the Parliaments of the said Nation, the Nobility and People, to their Ancient Rights, and make those of the Reformed Religion, enjoy the Privileges stipulated by the Edict of Nants. — For these Reasons We most earnestly exhort all those whose Heart is truly French, and wish to see their Countrey delivered from the hard Slavery in which it has groan'd for so many Tears past, to improve the Opportunity that now offers, by JOINING themselves with the Troops of the High Allies*. This Manifesto was drawn up by the Order of Her Majesty, with an intent to be publish'd in France, had not the Design been disappointed.*

Upon this, I would willingly be inform'd by Mr. Agate, what he will pronounce of the Queen and Her Council; and whether he will allow them to be Members of the Church of England? For certainly, they would never have invited and encouraged the Poor Protestants in France, and others of that Nation, to defend themselves against the Violences and Cruelties of their grand Oppressor; had they look'd upon Non-Resistance in that Absolute and Unlimited Sense, in which 'tis preach'd up by Mr. Agate, to be an indispensable Duty? Did they look upon all Arms in a Subject's Hands to be unlawful, besides Prayers and Tears, when they sent 'em over Swords and Musquets? If the Taking up of Arms in Defence of their Religion and Civil Liberties be a Damning Sin; then they that prompt them to, and assist them in it, must be the Authors of their Ruin, and the Causes of their Damnation. But will the Gentleman draw up so black a Charge as this against his Sovereign? I never heard that any of our Bishops did ever remonstrate to Her Majesty, that Her Design to relieve the Poor Hugonots in such a manner, was a Conspiracy against Christ's Laws, and destructive to the Souls of Men.

Thus have I made good the Province I undertook, and demonstrated, That in every Reign, the most Eminent Members of the Church of England have, in Cases of extreme Necessity, allow'd Subjects to defend their Liberties and Religion, against the Unjust Invasions of their own Natural Princes. In performing of which Task, I have only acted the Part of an Historian. Nor do I think my self obliged to Vindicate every Matter of Fact I have related; only I beg the Reader to take Notice, that the Authors I have produc'd are of a most Established Reputation; not like those Grubstreet Pamphleteers who have furnished my Adversary with so much Scandal, and who are ashamed to set their Names to their own Libels. By what I have produc'd

* Appendix to the Annals of Q. Anne, Vol. 5. p. 72.

it plainly appears, either that those Rigid *Notions*, of which I have been speaking, were not the Standing *Doctrines* of True Churchmen, or else that they never *practised* their own *Doctrine*; and Mr. Agate shall take his Choice.

'Tis insinuated, indeed, by such as have a mind to foment *Jealousies*, and create Divisions in the Nation, That the *Whigs* and *Dissenters* do embrace *Republican Principles*, and would fain reduce the *British Monarchy* to a new-fangled *Commonwealth*. But is there any real Ground for such a *Calumny*? Not the least Shadow of a *Reason*, as far as I can see. I have proved in a former *Treatise*, that both the *English* and *Scottish Presbyterians* did earnestly protest against the Subversion of the Government by *Cromwel*, and did contribute their good Offices to Restore the *Royal Family*. But we have a fresher Instance, which must silence this *Obloquy*, would Men but act as becomes *Reasonable Creatures*. When King *James* broke the *Original Contract*, and left the Kingdom, this Question was strenuously debated in the *House of Peers*; Whether, the *Throne* being vacant, it ought to be fill'd up by a *Regent*, or a *King*? If the Reader consults the *Records* of that Time, he will find those Noble *Peers* arguing for a *Regent*, who are at this Day look'd upon as at the greatest Distance from *Whiggish Principles*; And of all the [then] *Bishops*, none, but those of *London* and *Bristol*, were for a *King**. As for the *House of Commons*, I find the late *Sir Edward Seymour* at the Head of those *Devonshire Gentlemen*, who Voted for a *Regent*†. On the other Hand, the Low Churchmen and *Dissenters* were Unanimous for a *King*. Yet, see now the Modesty of our *High-Flyers*! that very Party which were against Filling up the Vacant *Throne* with a *Monarch*, will pretend forsooth to be the only Friends to *Monarchy*: Whilst those who were Hearty and Zealous for a *King*, must be stigmatized with the Odious Name of *Republicans*, and Enemies to the *Kingly Government*: This is a Mystery I am not able to unriddle; unless it be, that they who have a mind to get themselves In by turning others Out, must offer something that is *Popular*, tho' they know it to be false. So much I am certain of, that I may avouch for all the *Dissenters* of my Acquaintance, and believe for all others, that they look upon a Mix'd *Monarchy*, as Ours is, to be the Best Form of Government in the whole World.

'Tis objected further by our *Passive-Obedience Men*, That the *Whigs* and *Dissenters* pretend a Power of Calling their Sovereign to Account for every Mismanagement, and to have Recourse to Arms on every frivolous Pretext. But these are Principles we do as much detest and abhor as Mr. Agate. We count no Curses, no Execrations too bitter for him who shall involve the Nation in Blood and Confusion, because his Ambitious Expectations are not gratified, or even because there may be some Mistakes in Government. We look upon *Magistrates* as God's *Vicegerents* upon Earth; and that they ought to be Respected and Obeyed by us in Lawful Things. We think nothing but *Extreme Necessity* can justify Resistance to them. I have been certainly informed, That even Dr. *Sacheverell's* Council did acknowledge, at the Bar of

* Appendix to Hist. of K. William, Vol. 1. p. 21. † Ibid. p. 61.

the Lords, That in such Cases 'twas Lawful for Subjects to Resist; and that this was the Case of the Late Revolution. And I know no Dissenter that pleads for more than what these Learned Gentlemen have granted on that Head.

What I object to Mr. Agate, is, his Affirming in the Pulpit, That tho' a Prince should endeavour to bring in POPERY, he must not be Resisted; and that under Pain of Damnation. By which Assertion, he DAMNS the Late Revolution, and all concerned in it, the Queen Her self not excepted. By a Statute made 1 W. & M. Sess. 2. Cap. 2. 'tis enacted, ' That if any Person shall profess the Popish Religion, or marry a Papist, he shall be for ever incapable to Inherit or ENJOY the Crown and Government of this Realm; and in every such Case, the People of these Realms shall be, and are hereby absolved of their Allegiance. Thus says the Statute. On the other Hand, this Gentleman pronounces Damnation on those that shall resist such a Prince. So that we are come to a fine Pass, when an Act of Parliament shall be blown off by the Breath of a bold Pulpiteer.

The Protestant Religion is like to be hopefully secured, when those Barriers, which the Wisdom of the Nation hath raised to keep out Popery, shall be thus overthrown by one Seditious Blast. The truth on't is, the Doctrines which our High-Flyers preach up, and the Tumults which they raise, seem calculated to this very End, even to pave a Way for the Pretender, with all the blessed Appurtenances of French Politicks and Religion, to make his Triumphant Entrance into these Kingdoms.

Though my Business be only to give an Historical Relation of Matters of Fact, yet, lest Mr. Agate should complain that I have taken no Notice of his Argument, it may not be amiss to make a few Reflections on that Text, on which he builds his harsh ill-favoured Doctrine, viz. Rom. 13. 2. *Whosoever resisteth the Power, resisteth the Ordinance of God; and they that resist shall receive to themselves Damnation.* On which I would crave leave to Remark:

1. The Greek Word *ἔξουσια*, which in this Chapter is translated Power, most properly and commonly signifies Lawful Authority; to resist which, I account a Damnable Sin as well as Mr. Agate. But the Question is, Whether this condemns all Resistance upon any Pretence whatsoever? 'Tis doubtless a Sin to oppose the Mayor of a Corporation, in the Legal Execution of his Office; but should this Person fall a Cutting of Throats, Firing of Houses, and Ravishing of Wives, no Man doubts but in such Cases he may be resisted. And this would be no Resistance to that Authority of which St. Paul speaks, because he has really no Authority to play such mad Pranks as these are. So when the Nation opposed K. James in his Attempt to bring in Popery, they did not resist St. Paul's Lawful Powers or Authority; because he had no Authority to destroy GOD's True Religion, to erect Idolatry and Superstition on the Ruins of it.

2. If this Text forbids Resistance to the Powers in Being upon any Pretence whatsoever, it renders it unlawful to resist an Usurper, as well as a Lawful Prince; which may be thus demonstrated: 'Tis agreed on by the great Patrons of Passive Obedience, that this Epistle was written

written by St. Paul to the Romans during the Reign of Nero, and they strengthen their Argument by this Consideration, That Submission was enjoined by the Apostle to such an inhuman bloody Tyrant. As for this Monster's Pedigree, he was the Son of *Enobarbus* and *Agrippina*. His Father dying when he was young, his Mother had Charms enough to engage the Affections of the Emperor *Claudius*, who married this Widow: But in a little time was poisoned by the Contrivances of his Wife and Son-in-Law.* The Emperor being dead, the Crown of Right should have descended on *Britannicus*, his Son, who was then but a Lad. † But *Agrippina* had another Game to play, and so cajolled the Officers of the Army that they passed by their dead Master's Heir, and made her Son Emperor. † So that *Nero* got the Empire by Treason, Bribery and Murder. I would therefore demand of Mr. *Agate*, Whether the Romans might have Lawfully opposed *Nero* in Defence of the Right Heir? If they might, then Resistance upon any Pretence whatsoever, was not forbidden by St. Paul in this Text. If they might not, then successful Usurpation gives a Man a good Title: And those Gentlemen who resisted *Oliver Cromwel*, (who got the Government as *Nero* did, by the Assistance of his Soldiers, and used it much better) instead of being Martyrs for Loyalty, will deserve a quite contrary Character.

3. Let us compare St. Paul with our Saviour, who lays this Command upon us, *Mat. 5. 39. I say unto you, that you resist not Evil.* By which we are not to understand an Evil Thing, for that must be resisted; but an Evil Person, τῷ πονηρῷ. This Prohibition is expressed in as absolute and unlimited Terms as that of the Apostle: I demand therefore of Mr. *Agate*, Whether such Evil Men as Robbers and Rebels may not be resisted? I presume he will answer me, That there is an Exception or Limitation implied, tho' not expressed. But then why may not the Words of St. Paul be taken in a limited Sense as well as those of our Saviour? Why may not a Nation defend its Constitution against a publick Tyrant, as well as a particular Man his Purse against a private Robber; the one (for ought any thing appears in the Text) being as much forbidden by Christ, as the other by St. Paul. Nor does it any more follow, that a just Prince must be unsafe in the Throne, because a Tyrant may be opposed, than that an Honest Man may not safely travel our Roads, because an Assassin or Robber may be knocked on the Head by any Man that meets him, when in his own Defence.

But it not being my present Business to argue, I shall only add, that I think it a very Heinous Crime, to despise Dominion and speak Evil of Dignities, and much more to raise Tumults and Rebellions, to gratify Mens Ambition or Revenge, or even to redress Tolerable Grievances. Upon the whole; As Mr. *Agate's* Seditious Doctrine on the 30th of January, in which he denounced Damnation against such as should resist a Prince endeavouring TO BRING IN POPERY, gave Birth to this Little Treatise; So, I only think my self obliged to maintain the Contrary Position, That in Cases of extreme Necessity, People may defend their Religion and Liberty: In this I shall be countenanced by the Law of the Land, the Constant Practice of the Church of England, without being contradicted by Reason or Scripture.

* *Vid. Sueton. in Vit. Ner. cap. 33. l. 12.*

† *Ibid.*

† *Vid. Coen. Taciti Annal.*

d
f
t.
7.
d
s,
e
g
is
o
y
at
d
e
t,
t.
es
er
of
or

n-
y
e-
d
d
ls
in
y
fe
a-
ft
t)
es
e-
e-
on

ry
to
efs
oth
nce
ly
one
in-
out

—
l.